

Warren, Ohio, September 9/1909

DEAR MEMBER OF THE OFFICIAL BOARD:-

The last of Miss Blackwell's minutes came ~~today~~ before yesterday, and I am sending you complete copy. As a rule, I send only the report of the Official Board and the Executive Committee to you, but this time there was so much unusual business transacted in the convention, so long a time elapsed between the close of the convention and our reaching our desks, and there was such a change in the officers and in the business arrangements everywhere, I thought it might be helpful to all to have this full record. I have not had time to reread the copy as yet, but hope you will read it carefully, and if you find any errors please let me know, because it might make some difference in the printed minutes. Of course you all know that I only cull out the general things and those that are important for the printing. These are for our private use.

There are some things which I thought I ought to report, lest in some way they are lost sight of in the moving of Headquarters from one place to another.

At Seattle, we divided the literature that was left between the Washington and the South Dakota W.S. Associations. It was a goodly lot, but we decided it was better to do that than to pay freight and eventually return it little by little to the people ~~going~~ during the campaign. Mrs. Johnson had hers packed while there, and either sent it or took it with her. I had a letter a little time ago, saying she was surprised when she came to ~~unpack~~ look it over to find how valuable it was, and took the price list and checked it off. She thanked us for the gift, and assured us that every bit of it would reach the

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proper persons, for she would take it under her personal management. I was quite pleased with this, because as a rule the states feel that what we give them amounts to very little and they are not very grateful for anything.

I had a letter a few days ago from Miss Penfield, en route to South Dakota, saying Mrs. Julius Johnson had telegraphed her to go there. I presume Miss Shaw and Professor Potter know about this, but I thought ~~Miss Rankin~~ you would like to know that Miss Penfield had begun her work there. She wrote me for money to pay her expenses, which of course has been sent.

Miss Gregg is in Arizona, and feels rather hopeful of the situation. She says Mrs. Munds and Mrs. O'Neill are taking hold; that she thinks the Mormons are for us, and will be a power in the coming Legislature. In the meantime, I have seen one of the owners of a big mine in Arizona, who has given me information which I can follow up, and shall be able to report a little later whether the mine-owners and railroad men are going to be against us as the liquor men were before. What astonished me, in talking with this man, was that he never knew a woman suffrage bill had been introduced into the Legislature, nor that Governor Brodie had vetoed it.

In my paragraph on the Annual Report, I meant to say that I have written the facts in regard to the State of Washington in one paragraph, and will cut out the details. If this is not satisfactory to you, give me your opinion as to what should be done. It is a rather delicate matter, and, to my mind, the least said the better.

By the way, there were some bills left unpaid and some tag-ends of things, so that I have had several letters

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from Dr. Cora Smith Eaton. She told me in Seattle that the State Association had engaged Mrs. DeVoe at a salary of \$150.00 a month, and that they would have no trouble in paying her. In a letter received a few days ago, she said that Mrs. DeVoe had been working two months without a salary, and refused to accept it, because there were lots of bills left over from the convention, and she wanted everything cleaned up. In the meantime, a letter from Margaret Bayne asks if we are paying Mrs. DeVoe, ^{and} saying there is a rumor that the National has decided to pay her salary. In one letter, Dr. Eaton referred to the trouble, and still holds to her position that we did them a great wrong. Of course, I did not argue this with her. Mrs. Miller---that pretty little woman who worked with the Church Committee---in a letter sending me some bills, said she felt that the National did a great wrong in stepping in, that we had no right to interfere. She was very nice about it, said she wished she could have talked with some of us about it, but thought she ought to express herself now when she had the chance. I did not propose to discuss the matter with them, because, in the first place, it was not my province; and in the second place, it seemed useless. But I did say to Mrs. Miller, as I had no time to talk with her, that when Miss Shaw made a statement of the case to the effect that ordinarily it would have been no business of the Official Board, but that as the campaign was pending, and that an amendment was a National as well as a State affair, they ought to realize that the Board was not interfering when it was trying to help. I quoted Miss Shaw's statement from the minutes, which of course was more accurate than this.

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One thing more about Washington: the Spokane people understood that we gave some literature to the regular Association, and they asked us to send them some likewise. I therefore asked Dr. Eaton if she was willing to divide with them, since it would save expense, and told her that if they wanted a little more later, we could probably send it to her, but to do as she thought best in the matter, and to let me know. I have not as yet heard from either side.

The goods have been shipped to New York Headquarters, with the exception of a few things which will have to remain here until the new place is established. This, therefore, will be my last letter as officer in Headquarters, and I believe that everything which was left for me by the committee has been done, and that matters are nicely wound up.

Cordially yours

Harriet Taylor Upton

National American Woman Suffrage Association

(Member National Council of Women and International Woman Suffrage Alliance)

President, Rev. Anna Howard Shaw, 505 Fifth Ave., New York City.

First Vice President, Rachel Foster Avery, Swarthmore, Pa.

Second Vice President, Florence Kelley,
105 East 22nd Street, New York City.

Corresponding Secretary, Frances Squire Potter,
505 Fifth Ave., New York City.



NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
505 Fifth Ave., New York City

Recording Secretary, Ella S. Stewart,

5464 Jefferson Ave, Chicago, Ill.

Treasurer, Harriet Taylor Upton, Warren, Ohio.

Auditors: { Laura Clay, 189 N. Mill St., Lexington, Ky.
{ Alice Stone Blackwell, 6 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass.

OFFICE OF THE TREASURER, WARREN, OHIO

November 10, 1909

Dear Miss Clay,

How much I would give if we could have a quiet business talk somewhere. I feel entirely cut off from the work and have been thinking all the time that the rest of you knew what was going on more than I did; and all of a sudden I realize that the pressure in New York has made it impossible for Miss Shaw to write us often. And Mrs. Potter's newness to the work has made it hard for her, so that really we are each pulling our own way. I have some of the Headquarters work still left here and when I see the last of it, I shall be awfully glad.

I have been very much troubled about the condition of the treasury. For the first time in our lives, our general account is over drawn. There is nothing to speak of in the Susan B. Anthony Woman Suffrage account, so we are about bankrupt. Whenever I have had a chance I have written personal letters to people who used to give, but have not had very much success because everybody feels that now the rich women have taken hold it is not necessary for the poor ones to give much and with this prosperity, if such it may be called, state needs are greater, so that all told things look rather desperate.

[Nov. 10, 1909]

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I started this letter to ask you if you could pay the whole or part of Kentucky's pledge made at Seattle. The amount was \$100 00. I do not want to press you for this, but it just occurred to me that you might have part of it anyway which you could spare. If you have, I know you will gladly send it to me, and if you have not, it is all right.

Always cordially yours,

HTU*A

Harriet Taylor Upton

Return to Laura Clay.

189 N. Mill St., Lexington, Ky.

Nov. 29th, 1909.

My dear Mrs. Upton,

I received your personal letter of Nov. 20th, and this morning your letter to Miss Blackwell and me. I have just burnt up both of them. I know you do not expect any comment, but I must thank you for the information contained, of which I had no inkling before. I think you are right in considering it was our due to know. Thanking you very much, I am

Very cordially yours,

Lexington, Ky. Dec. 1st, 1909.

My dear Mrs. Upton,

I have left your letter of November the 10th, relative to the Kentucky E. R. A. pledge unanswered until now, because I was absent on a trip to Florida, where I was invited to give addresses on Civil Service Reform to the Woman's Clubs, and have been very busy since my return. I have been looking over my expences to Seattle to the National Convention. As you know it has been my habit to set my convention expences against the Kentucky E. R. A. pledge. I enclose the list of my expences.

I am sorry that I cannot wait for these expences until the treasury justifies you in calling for them and pay the pledge in the meantime. But I have made pledges to the Oklahoma campaign and to Miss Gordon's S. B. Anthony fund, which prevents me from waiting for a more convenient time for my expences. I shall see though that my pledge to Miss Gordon is paid promptly and I hope you will receive some relief from her fund. Truly you have my sympathy in the hard times you are ~~just now~~ undergoing, but I cannot help you any just now.

Very cordially yours,

Dict.

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I.

Statement of Laura Clay's Expenses to Seattle and Return. 1909.

June 24th.	Bus-----	0.25	
"	" " Supper)))	0.60	
"	" Sleeper	2.00	to Chicago.
June 25th.	'Bus-----	0.50	
"	" Breakfast----	0.50	
"	" Lunch-----	0.50	
"	" Dinner-----	1.00	
26	" Supper	0.80	
27th.	Breakfast-----	0.50	
"	Lunch-----	0.40	
"	Supper-----	0.50	
28th	Breakfast-----	0.60	
		<u>8.15</u>	
		2	

<u>16.30</u>	Expenses going and coming
72.25	Ticket to Seattle and return.
14.00	Sleeper on return.

\$102.55

As you see, from the vacancies, some of my meals were paid for by Miss Gordon on the way to Seattle. I have duplicated the expenses, for the return trip, as I returned by a roundabout way, and could not keep the expenses accurately. The sleeper from Chicago to Seattle was paid by Miss Anthony. On the return, I have charged it as \$14.00, as I think that is what it cost to go out.

Please set the \$100.00 against the Ky.E.R.A. pledge at Seattle; and the overplus, \$2.55 as a contribution from me.

I went to Chicago the night of the 24th, as I feared I might not be able to make the close connection, if I left Ky. on the 25th.

Yours,

Warren, Ohio, Dec. 4, 1909.

Dear Miss Clay and Miss Blackwell:-

I have thought almost constantly of affairs since I wrote you and think I will add a few things. I have hesitated to do this lest you might think me to be personal.

I found out at Bryn Mawr that Miss Shaw had belittled most of her officers to the ladies, particularly us three. Miss Thomas innocently referred to certain things you two had done and it was easy for me to say my say. Your part was trivial, just such a thing as a thoughtless person might say. It seems with me it was different. Miss Shaw had reported to them that I did not care for her as I used to do and Miss Thomas asked me why. Since I buckled on truth I replied that one could not feel the same loving, tenderness towards any one who constantly belittled ones work to others especially when ones work was as heavy as mine. Miss Thomas hesitated and then said, "Well, tell me what you did do." I will not take time to tell you what I told her but I was amazed myself. She looked aghast. She had me repeat. She then asked how much that had cost and when I told her she exclaimed. Every little while during the evening she referred to it. The next morning at the table she said, "Mrs. Upton, I have been thinking and thinking and when Miss Shaw comes I shall take it upon myself to tell her I think it wonderful for you to have done that work and to have done it on such a small sum."

At another time she said, "Miss Shaw thinks you do not want her to have the \$1,000.00 for expenses. Is that so?" I replied it was not but since I am speaking the truth I will say

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that when the Association paid Miss Shaw's expenses for much of the work she did and when societies, clubs and State Associations paid her usually for speaking I did not like to have her give out the idea that we were selfish, thoughtless or pennurious. I also said " I would like to see her have a salary of \$5,000.00 but I would like also for her to act and think it was a generous thing".

Well, now I want to tell you about the accounts . I hesitated about that too but as you will audit the books you ought to know officially. Miss Shaw often said in B. C. meetings that I kept too close accounts and sometimes was fairly insulting about it, but I did not care because I knew she did not know anything about it. When we were planning for the work in Headquarters I asked, "Who will keep the accounts?" and Miss Shaw replied sharply, "We're not going to waste time keeping accounts as you did", etc.

Now it seems Miss Shaw intended putting Lucy Anthony in Headquarters as clerk and thus getting the \$600.00 she had been paying her. I think this desire was all right especially as Miss Shaw considers Miss Anthony valuable but I hardly feel that she ought to do this without putting it to vote for I would not have voted for it. I do not think Mrs. Avery would have done so either. Miss Shaw told Mrs. Harper and told Miss Thomas that the reason she did not want any of the Headquarters force in the new Headquarters was because we were so extravagant. Miss Hauser was so told by Mrs. Harper. I was so told by Miss Thomas. It is unimportant except that it shows the spirit. I, therefore, felt some delicacy about suggesting anything for the new Headquarters. Finally I asked Miss Peck if she wanted me to help her start accounts,

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and she said "No. Miss Anthony was doing it." I was amazed because I knew Lucy and Miss Shaw quarrelled almost constantly because of Lucy's banking and accounts. Finally Miss Peck got scared and sent for money. I had sent Miss Shaw the \$300.00 which was voted for furnishings and the \$75.00 for moving, and I knew they were getting in much money from literature and Miss Peck seemed so unhappy about money. Finally Miss Shaw wrote and said "Send money for clerk hire." I told her if she would tell me how much and to whom to make checks I would send it. She would not send me names but finally said the stenographer, giving name, got \$o much a month and one helper \$10.00 a week and another \$50.00. I added these and found it made \$168.00 and I sent it. We had no money in the treasury and Miss Anthony was paying bills and giving out receipts and taking in Mrs. Mackay's money for National dues and I think receipting and playing the part of President and Treasurer, Miss Shaw and Mrs. Potter being away. Now, it seemed that although Miss Shaw had put out a vote to open an account in the All Night Bank and it had passed she had decided, however, ~~to~~ I have been given three reasons for this and will not take time to repeat, to put money in her own bank account in Philadelphia. Lucy Anthony has power of attorney to draw on this account. So our money went into Miss Shaw's personal account and she and Lucy could draw on it. Finally Miss Peck got tired of turning over Money Orders, Checks, etc to Lucy, who deposited, and then when a bill was sent in Miss Peck had to beg for the money. Finally a clash came. Miss Shaw or Anthony had said they were paying bills from Miss Shaw's account, but Miss Peck, who is very astute, thought she would write and ask me how much money I had sent. She was

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astonished when I told her. Miss Shaw was going away on an extended trip and she asked her if she (Miss Peck) could not draw checks. Miss Shaw then opened a separate account upon which Miss Shaw or Miss Peck could draw. Miss Shaw left and in a few days word came that their account was over-drawn \$200.00. Miss Peck, a girl alone in a City, was horrified. She finally scabbled around and I sent her money and she fixed that up. She then got mad and looked into things. She found they had been paying clerk hire from money received from literature, literature from money from moving expenses and either then or later she found Miss Shaw had forgotten to transfer her \$300.00 from her personal account. After a time Miss Peck got things straightened out. One day she found she had a small amount, say \$17.00, to her credit and the next day she got word her account was overdrawn \$29.00. She was roaring mad because she knew Lucy had drawn it. I sent the next month's pay for office help to Mrs. Potter. Then Miss Peck as I have related ^{refused} to be dominated by Miss Anthony. Miss Shaw for several reasons got down on Mrs. Potter and Miss Peck. The latter straightened out the accounts and we have gotten along easily. Now comes Miss Shaw, tells me to send all money to her, that Mrs. Potter and Miss Peck are extravagant. That I better pay all bills and chids me for not having done so before. This is pretty maddening when I remember how I plead with her to be allowed to do it. In the meantime, Miss Shaw has been paying the Headquarter's clerk \$18.00 a week. We voted \$15.00. I told her I knew she could not get competent help for \$15.00 and I felt sure the Committee would vote the \$18.00 and she better get another voucher. Now it happens Miss Shaw is always

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pleasant and lovely to Mrs. Belmont as she is to Miss Thomas. She mentioned the matter of not having appropriations enough for Clerk hire and Mrs. Belmont gave her the extra \$144 for the year. She put this into her personal account, which was right, but not knowing I knew about this, she is referring to her only having \$15.00, saying she pays the rest. She does. Now, she has ^{held} caused all the fuss of Mrs. Potter and Miss Peck to Mrs. Belmont, has told Mrs. Belmont she wants Lucy to stay, and Mrs. Belmont in her off-handed way says "If the Pecks and Potters do not let Lucy stay the National can get out". When some one asked her if she did not give the National this chance she said, "No, she did it for Miss Shaw". When the State of New York would not vote \$100.00 a month for Caroline Crossett's salary as New York Clerk, Mrs. Belmont pays it. This is a little offensive to New York because it gives Mrs. Belmont a hold.

Well, Miss Shaw or rather Mrs. Belmont has divided the big work room giving Mrs. Potter and Miss Peck one part, Mrs. Lexow another, etc. Everybody on the floor knows of the fuss and if it does not get into the newspapers it will be funny.

In the meantime, Mrs. Potter is heart-broken. She says it is impossible for her to stay in the work and yet she does not want to leave in any way to hurt the work. Miss Peck has had it the hardest because she has been there all the time. Mrs. Potter thinks she has done Miss Peck a great wrong in advising her to give up a College position and all that and to have her so unhappy. It has been awful for everybody and I pity poor Miss Shaw. She knows justice and righteousness and then loses herself. After all this fuss she has settled down and expects everybody else to do the same. Of course,

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we are all different temperments. When she used to insult me in Committee meetings I would just sit silently and pout and make a donkey of myself. It is absolutely necessary for me to have something to do. I have a thing offered me whereby I could make much more than I am making now, so I feel I do not have to endure. I shall say what I think and lose my official head if need be. I rather be without an official head and have my self respect.

Now, Mrs. Potter says she is in a dilemma. She will not stand out and fight Miss Shaw. She wrote a contract as I understand it and Miss Shaw signed it. Miss Shaw says Mrs. Potter tells untruths in regard to it. Mrs. Potter says she will not say that of Miss Shaw but she will say Miss Shaw is forgetfull. Miss Thomas told me to pay Mrs. Potter and Miss Peck out of the Thomas-Garrett Fund. I, therefore, sent Miss Peck's \$150.00 a day or so ago. Now Miss Shaw writes me not to pay these salaries from that account.

Mrs. Harper thinks she can not do Progress in addition to the Press Work and wants me to keep it. This is impossible for three reasons, but Miss Shaw is bound Mrs. Harper shall do it. Miss Shaw tells Mrs. Harper that it was voted that Mrs. Potter and Miss Peck should help her edit it but that they refuse. Miss Peck tells Miss Hauser she, and I think she said Mrs. Potter, were so anxious to get something definite to do. When Miss Hauser tells Mrs. Harper this Mrs. Harper says, "Well, there's no use going and telling Miss Shaw for she will say she never said it."

In the meantime, something has gone wrong with Mrs. Belmont and Mrs. Potter. Do not know what -- glad I do not.

[Dec 4, 1909]

Miss Shaw sends me a pleasant letter today in which she says nice things but says that I have written Mrs. Potter some instructions and infers I ought not to write to her. When Miss Shaw was gone surely I am not to write to Miss Anthony.

I would not be surprised if Miss Shaw would say it is not necessary to have a meeting of Officers. If we do not it will be a mistake. We ought to talk over the case of Potter and Shaw although it will make no difference in conditions, we will only know how Potter and Peck feel and what they are, but in the meantime South Dakota is anxious for our help. Mrs. Stewart writes she will not go. I think she feels as if Miss Shaw's letter was too critical. I say I think. Oklahoma must receive attention. If they get their petition surely we must help, and the territories. The petition work is pressing. Miss Shaw is speaking and so is Mrs. Potter and the pressure is great but we must not lose an opportunity for a state.

Now, I think this is the story to date. Headquarters will never settle down to good work with love and patience abounding with Miss Shaw there. She is a great speaker, she will be president as long as she wants it and if she would not I do not know who would.

Mrs. Potter and Miss Peck will drop out at the Convention. Some people think Mrs. Belmont is very astute and is intending to be president herself at the end of two years. It behooves us who take in the whole work to be thinking. It seems dreadful that Mrs. Catt and her sixty Clubs are not consulted about anything. I have often thought how indignant I would be if the State Association should come here and open Headquarters and say the P. E. Club should not come and yet Miss Shaw is not

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wholly to blame because we all are afraid of Miss Hay.
Miss Shaw certainly is wrong in feeling Prof. Potter is under her
control entirely as to office hours, etc. I never felt
Miss Shaw controlled me -- the convention elected me. I never
felt Elizabeth was under my control but that she was accountable
to the General Officers. If Miss Shaw had discharged clerks
I had hired I should have been astonished. Well, if anything
else you ought to know comes up I will tell you.

Mrs. Kelly up to date sides with Mrs. Potter.

Mrs. Avery I think feels Miss Shaw ought not to insist
on incompetent Lucy being there. I want to hear both sides
before I say. We may find Mrs. Potter is incompetent. She
has not had a trial. Miss Beck is a hero, a splendid girl --
and Miss Shaw you know.

Cordially yours,

Harriet Taylor Upton

Since writing the above which is pretty bad machine
work but better than my pen - Miss Anderson & I have
three solid days on Headquarters accounts when we
ought to be getting in money - (I do want a chance
just to be treasurer - I have always done other things
too) and we find the most awful mix - We can
not straighten it entirely from here because they do not
tell us what money they have received - Miss Shaw
I think is too sparing to ask Miss Beck - she writes to
day that she is going to take the papers over to Maylan
where she can easily straighten them out - I think may
be she is going to get a bookkeeper to do it - of course
if she gets a double entry man he will belittle the book
keeping & then you are -

Lexington, Ky. Dec, 8/09.

My dear Mrs. Upton,

I am constantly receiving requests for my photograph for use in newspapers. I like the photograph that Mr. Porter of Youngstown took while I was in Warren, and you sent me a few of these taken cheaply for the newspapers, but I have now exhausted my supply. If you have any in the office, will you kindly send me half a dozen, if not will you kindly order me a half a dozen, finished as you think suitable for newspaper work and have them sent at once to me at my expense.

I have not forgotten that you sent me a cabinet finished photograph and that I promised to replace it. I have had nicely finished ones and I will bring one of them when I come to New York to the Board Meeting, which Miss Shaw tells me is to be the 21st of December in New York City.

I have not received any exchange of receipts for my expenses and the Kentucky pledge, which I sent you a few days ago.

Please give my regards to your father and Mrs. Upton, and believe me,

Very cordially,

National American Woman Suffrage Association

(Member National Council of Women and International Woman Suffrage Alliance)

President, Rev. Anna Howard Shaw, 505 Fifth Ave., New York City.

First Vice President, Rachel Foster Avery, Swarthmore, Pa.

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OFFICE OF THE TREASURER, WARREN, OHIO

December 8, 1909.

My dear Miss Clay,

I have your letter of the 1st. in regard to the Kentucky pledge and your expenses to Seattle. This is satisfactory, and I am enclosing receipt for the \$100 pledge and for the \$2 55 balance as a contribution from you. I have entered the amounts on both sides of our books and am going to ask you to sign and return the statement of your Seattle expense account.

I also enclose receipt for \$7 00 which you send me in redemption of Mrs. Bennett's Seattle pledge for her grand children. Thank you for this.

Well, I suppose I will see you soon at the Official Board meeting, as Miss Shaw has called it for the 21st.

Cordially yours,

Harriet Taylor Upton

Lexington, Ky. Dec. 11/09.

My dear Mrs. Upton,

I received your letter with the receipts and I enclose my statement, signed and receipted.

I have just received a copy of the Annual Report and observe that I made a personal pledge of \$1 at Seattle, that had passed out of my memory. I enclose a check for the same.

I have just received your second letter with Mrs. Potter's enclosed. I thank you very much for letting me see this, as I want to understand the business as much as possible before I go to New York to the Board Meeting. I re-enclose the letter.

I thank you for attending to the photographs for me. I hope I shall soon hear from Mr. Porter.

I have just received a letter from Mrs. Kate H. Biggers, in which she says this bad weather has caused some delay in their work, but Dr. Gay writes her that if they get in the petition by ^{election} the last of this month, they will be in time for the special, should there be one. Dr. Gay is making the necessary arrangements for the carrying of the petition to Guthrie and presenting it in proper manner to the Secretary of State and to the Governor.

Hoping that all are well with you, and that I shall see you soon in New York, I am,
Very

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OFFICE OF THE TREASURER, WARREN, OHIO

December 13, 1909

Dear Miss Clay,

I have just had the most remarkable letter from Mrs. Avery. I would give anything if I could talk it over with you. Miss Shaw and Mrs. Potter were to meet at Miss Thomas's on the 30th. of November, when Miss Thomas was to tell Miss Shaw that Lucy Anthony must get out of Headquarters, that Miss Shaw must give up the detail work, and so on. Before that meeting came off Miss Shaw and Miss Peck came to a clash and Miss Shaw, I think, refused to meet Mrs. Potter at Miss Thomas's, but took Mrs. Avery instead. They went over the matter. Mrs. Kelley up to that time had been on Mrs. Potter's side, as had Miss Thomas. Mrs. Kelley went to see Miss Thomas about the matter. Miss Thomas was not at home. I think Miss Shaw thought Miss Peck and Mrs. Potter would forget all about and let things go. Anyway, Mrs. Avery went to see Mrs. Kelley and together they decided that there could not be any good work done in Headquarters under present conditions and that Mrs. Potter and Miss Peck better go. Mrs. Avery was given the duty of writing to Mrs. Stewart and myself and Mrs. Kelley was to see Miss Blackwell since she was going to be in Boston the coming week. It was left undecided who was to write you. The proposition which these two people were to make to

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us was that since Mrs. Potter and Miss Peck were so obnoxious to Headquarters and since it was going to be more or less disagreeable to Miss Shaw to have a fellow officer bring up matters before the Board, and since a majority of the officers were probably in favor of Miss Shaw, that Mrs. Kelley should ask Mrs. Potter and Miss Peck to resign, we to pay their salaries for the year and they not to explain their case to the committee. Mrs. Avery, who is naturally dilatory, did not get off this letter on time, but she sent one to Mrs. Stewart and myself today asking us to answer by telegram whether we wanted Mrs. Potter to resign or not without a hearing. You can imagine what a panic this put me into. The idea of our discharging our precious business by telegram without any consultation at all seemed perfectly dreadful. The idea that the Board of Officers could dismiss one of its own members elected by the convention and not hear any explanation as to the reason for doing so seemed preposterous. I therefore sent the following telegram to Mrs. Avery.

"I cannot appreciate the necessity of such hurried action. There must be mutual consultation by the full Board, which cannot honorably dismiss an officer elected by the convention without a hearing and complete evidence."

I think we are in a perfectly dreadful condition. Miss Shaw, without meaning to, has lost her head and talked to members of the association too freely, has shown out her own characteristics, I mean now the ones which are not good, has gotten us into this dreadful place and then is not willing to face it. I feel especially cut up about it because I was not in favor of our giving our precious press work over

Dec. 13, 1909

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to Mrs. Belmont in the first place, but could not fight it as I wanted to for personal reasons. I was opposed to engaging new people in Headquarters without the Board generally having some understanding as to what their duties were and what they expected. Now Miss Thomas and Miss Garrett are very much attached to Miss Shaw. Miss Shaw has always so arranged it that none of the rest of us have known they very well. They told me themselves what Miss Shaw thought of some of us and they have made up their minds that Miss Shaw must be vindicated. I think this plan of Mrs. Avery's is proposed by Miss Thomas. It certainly is proposed by someone outside the association since we all know that a Business Committee cannot dismiss one of their own officers without cause and cannot do it then unless the officer is willing to be dismissed. I think Miss Thomas's idea in suggesting this plan to Mrs. Avery, if she did do so, is to have the matter settled in such a way as to please Miss Shaw. I think Mrs. Avery's idea in accepting it was that the whole thing might be hushed up without further trouble. Now I do not know Mrs. Potter and Miss Peck but I do not think they are the kind of people who would resign if they were asked to resign without explaining their position. I think if we deny them a hearing that we will hear of it in a public way. However, that is not my reason for not agreeing to Mrs. Avery's proposition. It is because I do not think it is fair. I am just sick over this.

Cordially yours,

Hamel-Taylor Upshaw

National American Woman Suffrage Association

(Member National Council of Women and International Woman Suffrage Alliance)

President, Rev. Anna Howard Shaw, 505 Fifth Ave., New York City.
First Vice President, Rachel Foster Avery, Swarthmore, Pa.
Second Vice President, Florence Kelley,
105 East 22nd Street, New York City.
Corresponding Secretary, Frances Squire Potter,
505 Fifth Ave., New York City.



NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
505 Fifth Ave., New York City

Recording Secretary, Ella S. Stewart,
5464 Jefferson Ave, Chicago, Ill.

Treasurer, Harriet Taylor Upton, Warren, Ohio.

Auditors: { Laura Clay, 189 N. Mill St., Lexington, Ky.
{ Alice Stone Blackwell, 6 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass.

OFFICE OF THE TREASURER, WARREN, OHIO

December 13, 1909.

Dear Miss Clay,

I feel that if the majority of the Board should vote to ask Mrs. Kelley to ask Mrs. Potter to resign that we ought not to leave it to Miss Shaw and Mrs. Avery to fill the place of Corresponding Secretary. Now I surmise that Mrs. Belmont has told Miss Shaw that if she will get rid of Mrs. Potter and Miss Peck she, Mrs. Belmont will pay the salary of the Corresponding Secretary, and the Headquarters clerk. Our press work is now in the control of Mrs. Belmont. The New York Headquarters are under her control; that is, she has told the New York Association that if they did not elect Mrs. Crossett they could get out, and now for her to hire our Corresponding Secretary, having her under Miss Shaw would seem to me the last stroke. I think it might have been better if we had had no benefactors. Miss Thomas a few weeks ago, when she was so much in favor of Mrs. Potter and so much opposed to Lucy Anthony, told me that Lucy Anthony had to get out of Headquarters, and when I told her that was a very wise thing to conclude, she added, "Yes, and she must not be chairman of Local Arrangements either." I told her we could not control that, because the Board had appointed her for this year and it undoubtedly would not go back on that. But she said if Lucy had any authority

[Dec. 13, 1909]

#2KC

anywhere she would spoil everything. Now Miss Thomas says Mrs. Potter and Miss Peck must get out and Mrs. Avery and Mrs. Kelley and Miss Shaw agree with her. In the next convention we must try to make some of our new people realize that there is a state of Maine and Illinois, a state of California and of Minnesota and of Texas, Ohio, and Kentucky. That the city of New York and the College of Bryn Mawr are not states, or rather that they are not the United States. These women are honest, Miss Shaw has their ear, and they do not know anything about us. We must just tell them gently and calmly. Really Miss Clay, this is perfectly dreadful, but I cannot help saying, "Cheer up, cheer up, the worst is yet to come."

Cordially yours,

HTU*A

Harriet Taylor Upton

since dictating the above I have learned that the dissent was at Headquarters has gotten into the papers and that the world says people dissatisfied with Mrs. Shaw want Mrs. Platt Lecker elected in her place and people dissatisfied with Mrs. Potter want Mrs. Greenfield elected in her place. Of course I do not know anything about it. Oh! I was such a fool not to say more at Seattle for my own peace of mind

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OFFICE OF THE TREASURER, WARREN, OHIO

December 15, 1909.

Dear Miss Clay:-

I am forwarding Miss Blackwell's letter which is just here. Letters of this nature I keep in my own desk at the house so that the other letter to which she refers is there. I will send it to you tomorrow.

I am copying part of Mrs. Catt's letter. I am quoting from Elizabeth's letter. Anyway, there will be several enclosures in this letter. Return Miss Blackwell's letter.

If I thought Mrs. Stewart could go the Meeting after Christmas I would suggest that we wait until the 27th for our Meeting. Maybe by that time something would develop. Oh! the errant coward that I was not to raise my voice in Seattle for the thing which I knew was right. I knew unless something definite was decided upon with Mrs. Potter that there would be trouble, and I wanted to have that definiteness fixed. I could not have done it but I could have raised my voice and said that I wanted it done. If I had thought for a moment that Miss Shaw and Lucy Anthony were to have had charge of Headquarters I should have opposed it, but I was so brow beaten and so tired that I just kept still.

HTU/D

Cordially yours,

Harriet Taylor Upton

*conclude to
send letter
return please*

*concluded
not to send
several home
things in*

Warren, Ohio, Dec. 15, 1909.

Dear Miss Blackwell:-

I was up a little after five yesterday morning and at the Office soon after seven. The extra work of fussing with the Headquarter's accounts and all this correspondence in regard to this miserable affair has taken every bit of my time evening and Sundays. I was congratulating myself that I had finally cleaned up my desk just as the evening mail came. It contained a letter from Elizabeth, one from Mrs. Catt and your own.

I can not make out from your letter whether you have agreed that you will allow Mrs. Kelley to ask Mrs. Potter to resign without a hearing. My dear Miss Alice, if you have done this, do telegraph Mrs. Kelley that on second thought you believe the least we can do for Mrs. Potter is to let her be heard. Justice is justice the same today as it was in Lucy Stone's day. Have you any idea that your mother would have dismissed the most inefficient employee, who was begging to explain, without allowing her to lift her voice? We have done several unnecessary things, we lay-members of the Board, rather than hurt feelings, but justice is justice.

I can not see why Miss Shaw is unwilling that Mrs. Potter should be heard. She has accused her of many things, incompetency, insubordination and graver offenses. Surely she has not carried these tales to all the world unless she has ground for them. If she

ASB#2

has evidence, why should she fear to meet her? If unintentionally from nervousness and anxiety she has exaggerated these things and is, therefore, afraid to face Mrs. Potter, shall we be parties to the act of allowing Mrs. Potter to go out in to the world in apparent disgrace? First thing, do consider this matter carefully, and if it seems right to you, and your conscience is the most sensitive, I believe, of any one of us, do try to do what you can to right this wrong.

I feel awfully that you can not go to the New York Meeting. Miss Shaw thought that if she could get Headquarters out of my hands in New York she and Lucy Anthony could run them on less expense, and so without planning carefully she did it. Now, she thinks if she can get Miss Peck and Mrs. Potter out of Headquarters she can run the Headquarters successfully. In the first place, Miss Shaw can never run any Headquarters, can not do detail work naturally, and if she is going to do speaking it is impossible. She can not and will not run Headquarters without Lucy Anthony, and as far as I know there is not a living soul except Mrs. Belmont who believes that Lucy Anthony ought to be at the Headquarters.

Now, suppose we grant Mrs. Avery's request; suppose we turn off Mrs. Potter and Miss Peck; suppose we turn off Miss Anthony, then we have Miss Shaw alone in Headquarters dominated by Mrs. Belmont with an entirely new force of people unfamiliar with any of our people and not knowing our ways of work, why! it is preposterous. Our

ASB#3

Association is like a business organization. No matter how incompetent a clerk is the proprietor does not think of throwing him out and getting some one else to run his place who has no idea of the establishment and knows nothing whatever about the work he does. Miss Shaw is so nervous and so excited that she has only one thought in view, that is, to get rid of Mrs. Potter. In the meantime, here is Oklahoma, South Dakota, our Convention Dates, the raising of money, the Washington Convention and work enough to occupy six competent people at a stand still. Miss Shaw says that Mrs. Potter has not done any work to speak of. Mrs. Potter was hired by Miss Shaw to speak and to spill supplement her. I have testimony as to this because I was called to the room where both of them were by Mrs. Potter to explain what I did at Headquarters and everything which I told Mrs. Potter I did Miss Shaw said in my presence Mrs. Potter did not have to do. Mrs. Potter has written me asking me what her duties were. Miss Peck has tried and tried to have Miss Shaw tell her exactly what she ought to do. Miss Shaw has not known what the duties of the Secretary were. She had no more idea than a child what was done in Headquarters and could not tell Miss Peck. Miss Peck has finally blundered on to a way to do things and when she has started on her way and which has worked well, then Miss Shaw has changed plans so that her methods were not applicable. When any one says that Mrs. Potter is not equal to the job of running Headquarters I think they probably tell the truth. She said herself she was not and for that reason asked for

ASB#4

Miss Peck. Everybody says who knows Miss Peck at all that she could run those Headquarters if she had half a chance. In a most woeful letter she wrote me not long ago she said that it almost made her sick that she had the work to do that we had and did it so poorly, and I frankly thought if I had had to do the work under Miss Anthony's tyranny and Miss Shaw's temper I would not have done as well as she had.

To say that Mrs. Potter and Miss Peck have been a failure is to say what is not true, and just why we should wreck our precious Association because it would hurt the feelings of the President to hear certain things is a mystery to me.

It is very strange how people who can cut the skin off of folks and rub in salt expect other folks to be careful of their skin.

Mrs. Kelley says that Miss Shaw's impatience is due to her teeth and her ankle. If that is true she is sick and should rest and at least allow other people to do their work.

I do not know whether to go through your letter and refute some things or not. When Mrs. Kelley says that Mrs. Potter has not one friend she certainly is misinformed. I think that probably she has not the love of the folks in Headquarters but Elizabeth Hauser, whom you know as being the bottom of integrity, says Mrs. Potter is a wonderful person and that she loves her more and more every day.

She says Miss Peck is the person that heroes are made of. She says she would enter a den of thieves and if she knew she might be killed and if she escaped no one would ever hear of her adventure.

ASB#5

I am enclosing a quotation of Mrs. Catt's letter.

I have heard from Miss Thomas and several others about that College League circular. It may be that every thing connected with this was wrong, but what if it was? That has nothing to do with our duty to see justice done.

It may be that Mrs. Potter and Miss Peck did engage a friend to help them out on the accounts when Lucy Anthony took the money which we send, deposited in Miss Shaw's personal account and disbursed it as she, Lucy, a person without authority, saw fit. If I were in Headquarters and got into a place like that and had a friend in the City who could help me out, I surely should have asked that friend. I think it was well enough for Miss Shaw to object to that person's presence.

Mrs. Kelley says that Mrs. Potter does not speak well. Mrs. Potter told me that the atmosphere had been so unpleasant for her in New York that she had not made a decent speech. People at Buffalo were perfectly carried away with Mrs. Potter. At Seattle, we all sat watching her with the greatest interest and enjoyed her. Those of us who just "talk a little" know how hard it is to even talk when enemies are present.

Miss Blackwell, you say in honesty that Mrs. Potter and Miss Peck ought to have their two year's salary? What is salary compared to honesty? If they are liars and consorts with the devil I want them to go ~~without~~ salary. If they are not liars, I want them to be vindicated by the Business Committee and what is more than anything else I

ASB#6

want the Association put in to some kind of running order so that the precious Headquarters in which and for which I gave six years of constant, conscientious and pains-taking work shall not disintegrate.

Cordially yours,

HTU/D

P.S.

Are we so mortgaged to Mrs. Balmont and Miss Thomas that either of them can tell us which of the officers elected by the Association is "impossible" and must be dismissed with or without a hearing?

That, flat footed, without "ifs" has been done now.

Miss Thomas intended to keep Lucy Anthony from meddling with the duties of others but has failed and Lucy has beaten her by getting her, through others as tale bearers, to try to oust those meddled with by Lucy.

Querry! Are we to be overawed by the wealth of the purse bearers and is Lucy to control the Board of Officers as well as the President or not?

The trouble is not with Miss Shaw nor Dr. Potter but with Lucy, whom the Convention for years has not and never will elect as an officer.

Lexington, Ky.

Dec. 17th, 1909.

My dear Mrs. Upton,

I thank you for sending Mrs. Catt's and Miss Blackwell's letters, which I now return to you. If you had not posted me to some extent I should not have heard a word about all these difficulties till Mrs. Avery's letter came two or three days ago. I suppose it was decided that she should write to me. She did not ask a vote, but as I took it, an opinion on whether Mrs. Kelley should ask Mrs. Potter's and Miss Pack's resignation before the Business meeting. I answered that I would not give my voice to such a suggestion; and put it plainly that I thought it a very undesirable proceeding and one which Miss Shaw's friends should caution her about. I think there is no doubt that we should hear Mrs. Potter's side fully. I also think Miss Anthony not the proper person to have authority in Headquarters or any where else, without the vote of the Board. It seems strange to me that Miss Shaw should ever have thought of putting her there. I had no idea she was there till you wrote me.

I go tonight to Richmond, Virginia, to stop over a day with my sister, Mrs. S. D. Crenshaw, 919 West Franklin Street, where I shall be over Sunday, in case anything requires a telegram to me. I go to New York Monday, and shall be at the little hotel where Miss Shaw boards.

I am very sorry Miss Blackwell is not well enough to attend. We need her clear brain and steady head in this difficulty. I can see how she feels a compensation for being sick in not having to be in this row. But that does not help the rest of us. Please send this letter to her, with my love.

Cordially yours,

P.S. I am glad Miss Blackwell can see anything to "chuckle" over in this affair. I had looked upon it as altogether tragic. But she is very level-headed, and her laughing relieves the tension. I shall try to take a more philosophical view of it.

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OFFICE OF THE TREASURER, WARREN, OHIO

December 31, 1909

Dear Mrs. Stewart and Miss Clay,

Florence Wyman Richardson, 5737 Cates Ave., St. Louis, Mo. has been writing me for a long time in regard to organizing a club. She is very much in earnest and I think is a bright woman, although I have never seen her. It seems she has been writing to Headquarters too, but Miss Shaw's illness and the fussing there created such a condition that her case has not been taken up. I think it came up at New York but I am not sure and do not know what action was taken if any. Now you both know that Mrs. Mulkey stands at the head of the Missouri association and does nothing except to pay ten dollars out of her own pocket each year and keeps anybody else from getting in. Mrs. Werth, who was the state president and who has a little club of her own, is a German woman and seems to antagonize Mrs. Mulkey's friends. She has grown pretty desperate too with Mrs. Mulkey's tactics. Now somebody has got to go to St. Louis and organize this club for Mrs. Richardson, get it started right so that they can come to the Washington convention and begin life. If it is not some of us who understand it all there will be trouble. Miss Shaw apparently is no better, is not answering any letters, has not done one thing about the accounts and how we are going to close our books in the awful conditions things are

[Dec. 31, 1909]

#2S&C

in I do not know, and therefore I think if we agree among ourselves, we three, what ought to be done, maybe we could get it done. Could either one of you go to St. Louis for your expenses and will you go? It is just impossible for me to get away. My father was very sick Christmas day and this is the first day I have been to the office all day since I came home.

I know you are both happy because your states have made such splendid gains this year.

Cordially yours,

BTU*A

Harriet Taylor Upton
msa

Warren, Ohio, Dec. 31, 1909.

Dear Member of the Official Board,

This is the last day of the old year and, knowing that you are quite as much interested in the standing of our auxiliaries as I, I am giving you the latest information in regard to them. There may be some changes in today's mail. You know we have counted for the last few years any dues which left a state before the New Year; that is, any state sending its dues today will be counted auxiliary.

At this writing, noon Friday, three states are delinquent, California, Louisiana and Oklahoma. They have all had their several notices and part have been telegraphed to.

The six states highest in the list are New York, paying \$410 80, Massachusetts \$158 30, College League \$150 90, Pennsylvania \$119 30, Maryland \$108 80, Illinois \$95 00.

There has been much loss in many of the states but where we have gained, we have gained largely so that the total will probably show a gain.

West Virginia lost slightly, as did Tennessee. The greatest loss is that of Massachusetts, 740, and the pity of it is that it really is not a loss. The workers there say they have made substantial gains, but the dues were not in and that Newton withdrew from the society. This was a large club I believe. They hope to telegraph me additional dues today. Iowa lost 350. There is no explanation of this, but I think that the state has fought so long and so hopelessly that it is sort of discouraged. Nebraska lost 313. New Hampshire lost 50, New Jersey 85, Ohio 30. The Ohio Association is not

#20B

Dec 31, 1909

weaker. Part of the dues were not collected on time. Vermont lost nearly half but that does not mean much because it only lost 43. The Friends lost 37.

The College Equal Suffrage Association has made the largest gain we have had for years, 1309 new members. This places it third in the list. Maryland has made the largest gain of any state, 728. This is due to the activity there largely, but the Friends report that the loss in the Baltimore branch of their association is due to the affiliation of some of their members with the state society. You will remember a few years ago the Baltimore branch of the Friends association made large gains for just the opposite reason. New York has gained about 50, Illinois gained 336. Connecticut has gained 100, which is a remarkable thing for that weak and old society. Kentucky has gained 316, and if it had not been that the College League made such extraordinary gains, this state would have been in the list of six. Indiana gained 50, Pennsylvania gained 42, Texas nearly doubled its membership. Minnesota gained 60.

We have one new state. At last Virginia is organized with the right kind of people and has sent its dues for 70 members.

Happy New Year to you.

Cordially yours,

Harriet Taylor Upton

HTU/A

Warren, Ohio, Dec. 31, 1909.

Dear Miss Clay -

At Seattle we voted to allow \$15.00 a week ^{each} for two stenographers. One for Miss Shaw, one for Mrs. Potter and Miss Peck. In Mrs. Potter's agreement with Miss Shaw two stenographers for these three people were agreed upon. We all remember the evidence given us in regard to engaging those stenographers. There was however some testimony not given in which I participated. Because Mrs. Potter stopped here on her way East and because Miss Peck finally had to come to me for certain Headquarters things I learned the condition earlier.

It seems that one day they were about to hire a stenographer. It ~~is~~ ^{was} Miss Barton who is now the stenographer in the working Headquarters. Miss Peck was about to dismiss her when Miss Shaw called her to the door and said that she had been given the \$3. extra a week for the stenographer and it was all right for Miss Peck to engage her. This Miss Peck did. Later I ascertained some way, I have forgotten how, that it was Mrs. Belmont that was paying this difference. Now, it seems that Miss Shaw did not deposit this money in the general account. At the New York meeting she said that that money was for her own stenographer and not for the Headquarter's stenographer. In the meantime, we have been sending ^{from} here \$18.00 a week for Miss Shaw's stenographer and the ^{\$15.00 for} Headquarter's stenographer ^{also}. Of course, we can straighten

[Dec 31, 1909]

our accounts with Miss Shaw later, but now Miss Peck wants to know whether they can continue to pay \$18.00 for their stenographer. I understand that Miss Shaw is still sick. I am getting no letters from her. The money which I sent her has not all been receipted for. The Headquarter's accounts are still in her hands, or were the last I knew, and are not straightened, so I am writing you to ask you whether I shall go on paying the \$18.00 a week to the stenographer. That is, when Miss Shaw comes to put out a vote or if she never does when we come to settle at the end of the year whether you will vote for \$18.00 for Miss Barton. It seems she is very acceptable to Mrs. Potter and Miss Peck and there is such a little time before the Convention it seems foolish to let her go and get some one who knows nothing about the work.

I realize that no one but the President can put out a vote and yet ^{for the President's choice} as the Vice President is not serving in the capacity of the President I am in doubt what to do.

Cordially yours,

Harriet Taylor Upton

Good for Ky & Va -
Harriet heard from Okla - pretty
late with their petition

Warren, Ohio, September 9/1909

DEAR MEMBER OF THE OFFICIAL BOARD:-

The last of Miss Blackwell's minutes came ~~today~~ before yesterday, and I am sending you complete copy. As a rule, I send only the report of the Official Board and the Executive Committee to you, but this time there was so much unusual business transacted in the convention, so long a time elapsed between the close of the convention and our reaching our desks, and there was such a change in the officers and in the business arrangements everywhere, I thought it might be helpful to all to have this full record. I have not had time to reread the copy as yet, but hope you will read it carefully, and if you find any errors please let me know, because it might make some difference in the printed minutes. Of course you all know that I only cull out the general things and those that are important for the printing. These are for our private use.

There are some things which I thought I ought to report, lest in some way they are lost sight of in the moving of Headquarters from one place to another.

At Seattle, we divided the literature that was left between the Washington and the South Dakota W.S. Associations. It was a goodly lot, but we decided it was better to do that than to pay freight and eventually return it little by little to the people ~~fixing~~ during the campaign. Mrs. Johnson had hers packed while there, and either sent it or took it with her. I had a letter a little time ago, saying she was surprised when she came to ~~unpack~~ look it over to find how valuable it was, and took the price list and checked it off. She thanked us for the gift, and assured us that every bit of it would reach the